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# WENDELL PHILLIPS IN FANEUIL HALL.

## *SPEECH ON LOUISIANA DIFFICULTIES.*

## REVISED AND ENLARGED BY HIMSELF.

The President said: The question is on the adoption of the resolutions.

At this point there were loud cries of "Phillips," intended to induce Mr. Wendell Phillips, who sat in the gallery, to speak. Mr. Phillips stood up. The cries of "Phillips" and "Question" continued for a long time, until the President of the meeting interfered to restore order. Having been successful in this, the President said:—

*Fellow-citizens:* We are assembled in Faneuil Hall to discuss great public questions. The meeting is open to any citizen who wishes to give us his advice. (Cries of "Good.") Whoever chooses to speak shall be heard, if the chairman has the confidence of the meeting.

After these remarks, Mr. Phillips, in his place in the gallery, said: "Mr. Chairman," and was about to continue, when there were loud cries of "Platform." Mr. Phillips hesitated, but the Chairman having beckoned to him, he descended to the platform, in the midst of tremendous applause and every expression of enthusiasm. As he stepped upon the platform three cheers were given for him, and there were some hisses. He said:—

### SPEECH BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

*Mr. Chairman and Fellow-citizens:* I came here this morning because I saw in the journals that the voice of Boston was to be uttered, through Faneuil Hall, on the great

tional question. The citizens of Boston were summoned to record her verdict on the conduct of the Executive of the United States. I looked over the list of gentlemen who summoned to Faneuil Hall the people of Boston, asking myself, If this be the voice of Boston, who are the Boston men that summon us to this expression of Boston opinion? Who are the men that vote and pay taxes here, and bear the shame or the glory of being citizens of Boston, that summon this meeting?

The first named is Charles Francis Adams of *Quincy* (tremendous applause), a very worthy gentleman, but he votes in Quincy. (Great confusion here prevailed.) If you will only hear me, you will see that I mean no disrespect to Mr. Adams or any other signer. (Cries of "You can't," and "Hear him.") I say that Mr. Adams—allow me to speak—that Mr. Adams—(applause and confusion)—if you will only hear me, gentlemen, we shall save time. I have no intention—

Here the noise was so great that Mr. Phillips could not be heard, and the President arose to restore order. So great, however, was the noise, the words "Question" and "Free Speech" being shouted on all sides, that for some time the President could say nothing. At length the noise subsided to a certain extent, and the President said: "Fellow-citizens, hear Mr. Phillips; hear anybody and everybody who wishes to speak in Faneuil Hall. Be patient and give them your ears, and finally, vote according to your own judgment." The words were received with great applause, and Mr. Phillips continued. He said:—

I observed on this list, gentlemen, the names of worthy citizens from Salem, and Plymouth, and Quincy, and Worcester, Cambridge and elsewhere; but I called up to my memory the hundred men—lawyers, merchants, clergymen and editors—who, in the judgment of the world, would be understood to represent the city of Boston. (Applause.) And I affirm, fellow-citizens, that if you presented this call to

that hundred men, ninety of them would refuse to sign it. (Applause and hisses, and cries of "Get out," &c.) Their names are not on this Call. (A voice, "That's a lie.") No, I deny it. (Confusion and cries of "Order.") I have been in Faneuil Hall before. Now, fellow-citizens, all I ask is this—(a voice, "You agree with Grant")—all I ask is this: When gentlemen come here to express the voice of Boston, and have not the name of a leading clergyman or lawyer—(cries of "Beecher," "Infidel," "Question," "Who wrote the letter for Boston?" "What kind of a letter was it?" "Read the letter to Belknap," "Free speech," &c).

Mr. Phillips continued: Fellow-citizens, pray hear me—(a voice, "Three cheers for Phillips the builder.")

The President said: Brothers and fellow-citizens, hear me; I appeal to you as citizens of Boston to listen with patience to anything that is to be said. I have no reason to suppose that Mr. Phillips will say anything that will offend your sense of right and justice. (A voice, "No, sir.") But if he should do so, the power of the vote is in your hands—("Yes")—and you can exercise it then; but hear him, I beg you hear him.

Mr. Phillips—The inference, fellow-citizens, that I draw from the quality of the Call is this: In formal resolutions which are to go forth from such a meeting, practically, whatever be the actual fact, as the voice largely of Boston, it becomes, gentlemen, standing so alone, to be peculiarly careful in the facts which they assert and the inferences which they draw. Because in the absence of Dana, and Abbott, and Bigelow, and Bartlett and their fellows, the legal profession is not here; in the absence of the merchants of State Street, with half-a-dozen exceptions, the commerce of Boston is not here; in the absence of every clergyman who votes in this city, the pulpit is not here ("That's so"), and therefore I say (hisses), gentlemen, that it becomes you to exercise extraordinary caution (cries of "Free speech," in the midst of noisy demonstrations) that the facts which you state in

such a position, and the inferences which you make, are careful and guarded.

Now, gentlemen — (A voice, "Give us your opinion, quick.") Please be silent, while I try to make what reply I can to the statements of these eloquent gentlemen who have preceded me. And you will allow me to say, first, that the term "citizen of the United States" is not mere verbiage; it has a meaning, a substantial meaning. To be a citizen of the United States is a great privilege; it carries with it inviolable rights. Every man, rightfully claiming that character, is entitled to the efficient protection of the National Government, is he not? ("Yes, yes.") Very well; no man doubts that when the United States citizen in question is in a foreign land—When Algiers trampled on a citizen of the United States (a voice, "Dr. Howe"), Commodore Decatur, with guns shotted to the lips, taught the Dey his lesson. Ingraham taught Austria the same lesson, and we have had something of that kind to do in Cuba. Now, gentlemen, what I say is that a citizen of the United States in Massachusetts, or Louisiana, is as much entitled to the protection of the nation, as is a citizen of the United States in Japan. Is he not? (Cries of "Yes.")

When the negro in the Southern States hauled from his house and about to be shot; when a white Republican caught in some county in Alabama and about to be assassinated—("That's a lie," applause and hisses),—looks around on the State government about him and sees no protection,—none whatever, for white or black,—has he not a full right, an emphatic right, to say to the National Government at Washington, "Find or make a way to protect me, for I am a citizen of the United States?" (Applause; and a voice, "No, no, that's not the point.") Very well, gentlemen, I want you to bear that text in mind as I go on. (Cries of "Question," "Question.")

In 1872, the Government at Washington recognized the government of Governor Kellogg of Louisiana. (Cries of

"Shame on it.") It is not for you or me to-day to say whether they did wisely or not. (At this point Mr. Phillips took off his overcoat, which act caused a great deal of noise and enthusiasm.) The President of the United States had no alternative. (Hisses and cries.) Congress would do nothing; neither the Senate nor the House would act; your Congress was dumb; it would not take a step in any direction. ("That's so.") There stood the President of the United States, what was he to do? (A voice, "Smoke a cigar.") I have just brought it to your attention that the citizen of the United States has a right to look up to him and say: "By your oath of office, protect me." (A voice, "Yes, he never did.") Now Congress would do nothing. There was the State of Louisiana going to pieces; Grant recognized Kellogg as governor, as he must recognize somebody. (Laughter and sneers.) If he usurped power, or made a mistake, remember, gentlemen, for two long years Congress has never rebuked him, nor corrected his errors. They have tried again and again to come to some conclusion on the Louisiana question, but they could not, and there stood the Executive; he must act; there was no choice; he had got to act; the law must be executed. (A voice, "What law?") Why, the law of the United States to protect its citizens. He did what he was compelled to do. Driven to that position—shut up to it—give him your sympathy. When the assembled wisdom of the nation confessed that it could see no satisfactory step to take, then have fair consideration for the man who was obliged by his oath of office to walk forward and meet his responsibilities. At least, when he has again and again, and again, besought Congress to relieve him of the burden, don't charge him with intent to usurp power. (Applause, and cries of "No.")

Oh, you know I am not a Grant man. (A voice, "You are on the wrong tack.") I am not a partisan on the one side or the other. I never threw a vote in my life; never held an office, and never expect to. But I tell you that in

September last this recognized government, this Kellogg, whom Congress would not disavow, whom the President was forced to recognize, sends to Washington, strictly according to the Constitution,—the Legislature not being in session,—and says to General Grant: "Domestic violence threatens to subvert the government." Well, now, gentlemen, be patient. Look at it like sensible men. Grant cannot doubt that statement, go behind it, or inquire into its truth. Suppose that Governor Gaston should send a message to Washington to-day, and tell the President of a certain condition of affairs in Massachusetts. The President cannot go behind it; he cannot see anybody but Gaston; he has no right to do so. (Sneers and laughter.)

You remember the old story in Charles the First's day, when the King went into the House of Commons—other gentlemen have referred to it—and wanted to see the five members, and asked the Speaker where is so and so, and the Speaker knelt down and said: "May it please your Majesty, I cannot answer the question, because I have no right to speak anything that the House does not tell me to say." It is exactly so that the President is situated with regard to Louisiana matters. If Governor Gaston should make a statement to him, he is to take it for granted; he cannot go behind it." (Cries of "No," "No.") Kellogg thus calls upon him, and Grant goes in September to Louisiana. The streets are running with blood. (Laughter and hisses long continued. Cries, "Oh!" "Too thin," groans, &c.)

Gentlemen, I did not say that; that is what Mr. Saltonstall, of Salem, said. (Cries of "No," "No.") And the gentleman from Quincy said so. He confessed that there was disorder enough in New Orleans to demand national interference. (Loud hisses and expressions of disgust.) Now, gentlemen, be patient. You are American citizens, and you have grave questions to discuss. If the government—if the nation—is once rightfully inside of a State, on the call of its constitutional authority, when is it to go

out? I ask any lawyer when is it to go out? Why, it is to go out, of course, when the domestic disturbance is quelled, not before. (Cries of "That is so.") That is so, exactly. Now, gentlemen, consider a moment; I will be very quick. (Cries of "Hurry up.") The next question is, Who is to decide that point? (A voice, "The people.") Agreed. Whenever the legislature assembles in that State, and says to the National Government, "We are at peace, go out," why, out you go. When the Governor says to the national authority, "We have done with you, go," they are bound to go." In ordinary cases such would undoubtedly be the rule.

But suppose now—hear me, please, these are very grave questions—just suppose this case, that neither the governor nor the legislature makes any such affirmation, how is the President to know when to go? He must exercise his own judgment. (A voice, "He dosen't know anything at all.")

Remember these are questions of constitutional law, and they must be met. (Cries of "Good.") You do not want to send out of Faneuil Hall a series of resolutions that have no basis. ("Yes they have." "You are right there.") I say, gentlemen, that when the United States was once summoned into Louisiana constitutionally, and when neither the governor nor the legislature had given any voice as to whether they should go out or not, President Grant was bound to exercise his own discretion. He did so. (Cries of "No.") You cannot blame him for that. A Democratic President would be bound to do the same thing. He keeps his troops there. He says, "In my conscientious opinion, responsible to the United States under my oath of office, I do not think the emergency ended." The transaction is not finished. He keeps his troops there; the year breaks, the fourth day of January comes, the legislature assembles, the clerk proceeds to call the roll—listen to me, gentlemen, here is the nub of the question. (Cries of "Go on." "Brave it through," &c.) The clerk proceeds to call the roll. It was his duty to do it.

He was the only man in the State who could do it. Well, what takes place? (Cries of "Put your coat on.") Mr. Schurz shall tell you. I will not quote any questionable authority. Mr. Schurz shall tell you. He says:—

"While the result was being announced a motion was made by a member (Mr. Billieu), to appoint L. A. Wiltz temporary speaker. That motion was put and declared carried, not, however, by the clerk. Mr. Wiltz took possession of the chair," &c.

(A voice, "Read the whole of that speech.") No! that's enough for the present. I think Mr. Schurz well knew the significance of that fact, which he did not conceal. *The motion was not put by the clerk.* Now, I assert — and if there be a parliamentary lawyer in this house, I challenge contradiction—(applause and cries of "Good")—that the moment any gentleman in that hall undertook to make a motion not addressed to the clerk, and to decide it when the clerk had not put it, or pronounced it carried; and when another gentleman, under that action took the chair, that body ceased to be a legislature and became a mob. (Tremendous applause.) Drag out five men from the legislature of Louisiana! It was not a legislature, it was a New Orleans mob! (Tremendous applause.) What does General Sheridan say? (Hisses and cries of "Order" and "Hear him," "He lies.") Is there any man here that feels authorized to write liar on the brow of General Sheridan? (Cries of "No.") Very well, then, listen to what General Sheridan says describing this scene:—

"Mr. Vigers had not finished announcing the result when one of the members, Mr. Billieu, of La Fourche, nominated Mr. Wiltz for temporary speaker. Mr. Vigers promptly declared the motion out of order at that time, when some one put the question, and, amid cheers on the Democratic side of the House, Mr. Wiltz dashed on to the rostrum, pushed aside Mr. Vigers, seized the speaker's chair and gavel, and declared himself speaker. A protest against this arbitrary and unlawful proceeding was promptly

made by members of the majority, but Mr. Wiltz paid no attention to these protests." *

Now, gentlemen, conservators of law and order, (laughter) I will cite you a case in clear illustration of what I mean. It relates to Mr. John Quincy Adams, not the one who spoke here, (laughter) but he will allow me to say a much wiser man than himself. (Applause.) In 1839, the National House of Representatives at Washington, could not organize, the clerk of the House held the list in his hand and he refused for three days to receive a motion. Three days he stood there; no matter who addressed him he refused to receive a motion, and the National Government was checkmated. Any of you old enough to remember it? Remember the impatience and disgust of the nation, and the disorder reigning at Washington. But there was not a man in the House of Representatives that saw how it could be remedied. (A voice, "Where was Grant?") Governor Wise, of Virginia, said, "If I had the choice of John Quincy Adams's epitaph, I would write this on the tombstone, "I will make the motion myself.'"

The President — *Put* the motion.

Mr. Phillips — Yes, put the motion. What does he refer to, how was it? Why, on the fourth day, when the House stood checkmated, amazed, confounded, no man knowing how to get out of the difficulty, Adams rose and said: "I move that the clerk proceed to call the roll;" the clerk refused; the stupified and wondering crowd around him said to Mr. Adams, "How do you propose to have the motion put?" There was not a man there who could conceive an outrage so

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* The Report of the Congressional Sub-Committee, since printed and made evidently in the interest of the White League, confirms General Sheridan's statement. It says:—

"On the first call of the roll, 102 members answered to their names. It is claimed by the Republicans, and we believe conceded by the Democrats, that 50 of those answering to their names were Democrats and 52 Republicans. The instant the clerk finished the roll-call several members rose to their feet, but the floor was successfully held by Mr. Billieu, who said that he nominated L. A. Wiltz as temporary chairman. The clerk suggested that the legal motion was to elect a speaker. Mr. Billieu himself paying no attention to the clerk, proceeded hurriedly to put his own motion, which was received by loud yeas and followed by loud nays, and declared it carried. Mr. Wiltz sprang instantly to the platform," &c., &c.

gross as that in Louisiana; and Adams tottered forward to the stand and said, with supreme audacity, "I mean to put the motion myself." (Cries of "Good" and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, what does that scene prove? What does that three days' acquiescence of the country, that three days' waiting of the House, that astonishment at the audacity of Adams when he was about to break the law, seeking its essence at the sacrifice of its form? Why, all that proves how inexorable the rigor of the parliamentary rule, that while the Clerk is using proper despatch and behaving himself, no man can put a motion in the house but himself.

On any other theory the patience of the House was cowardly sloth; Mr. Adams's long waiting was ignorant stupidity. But grant the iron rigor of this parliamentary rule, and the submission of the House is honorable obedience to law, and Mr. Adams's final step rises to the level of sublime audacity. As when, in half a dozen great crises of history, some patriot statesman has "taken the responsibility" of breaking through the entanglements of law to save justice and the nation; so Mr. Adams wrenched that legislative machine into running order. That National House of Representatives waited *three days* before even Adams thought such law-breaking justifiable. This New Orleans mob did not allow the clerk to finish his announcement of the results of the roll-call. Such being the case, the moment that gentleman, Mr. Wiltz under that illegal motion, took the chair—I challenge any legal gentleman here to answer me—that was a mob. (Loud applause.) I have had occasion to study this question, Mr. Chairman. We had a scene of that kind in this city in December, 1860, when Mr. Murray Howe and Mr. Richard Fay entered Tremont Temple. They came forward, and pushing aside the proper authorities of the meeting, jumped to the front, and Fay said, "I am Chairman." That was a mob. (Hisses.) Yes, that was a mob, but no more so than this gathering in the New Orleans State House.

Very well, what was left in Louisiana? The legislature had been ejected from its own hall; a mob in the eye of the law—answer me if I am wrong (applause, "You are wrong," and hisses), was in possession of the State House, there was nothing left of a government in Louisiana but Governor Kellogg. (Hisses.) Hiss if you please, but produce the master of parliamentary law that will deny one of my propositions. (Applause.) The Senate had organized. The House had not. It takes both to make a Legislature. There was then no Legislature for Kellogg to "convene": in which case the Constitution bids the Executive act alone. The law-abiding members of the House — the majority — had asked him to replace them in their Hall. Accordingly, he sent, as he was bound to send, to the United States troops who were then in charge of the peace of the State—they had come there in September, the President hadn't seen fit to withdraw them, they were lawfully there; my friend Henry Paine, if he were here, would not deny it. ("Good," and applause.) Very well, he sends for the soldiers and says to them, "Turn that mob out of the State House."* (Hisses and applause.) He had a right to say it. (A voice, "They couldn't do it.") And I affirm,—having for years studied that very point of constitutional and parliamentary law,—I affirm that General De Trobriand and President Grant complied with every technical requisite of the constitutional law of the United States. (Tremendous applause.)

That, gentlemen, is for the lawyers; that is for the men who undertake to say that, on the principles of the Constitution, Grant has over-stepped his power. (Cries of "He has," "He has.") I challenge any man, with a legal reputation, to show it (a voice, "Evarts") on the principles of

*It is objected to this view, that the Governor did, *in fact*, only order the removal of five illegal members—Granted. I only state his legal authority and position. He had a right to choose his own method of using that authority. He could either sweep the whole mob out of the State House, or only remove the most objectionable part of it—in hopes that, perhaps, the Democratic White League members would then join with the men of order, and organize the House of Representatives. He had full right to choose his method.

parliamentary law. Mr. Evarts cannot change facts. Mr. Evarts, of course, has presented his general views of this constitutional question. (Cries, "Ain't he a lawyer?") Yes, he is a lawyer. (Cries, "And the best one in the country.") Yes, he is a good court-lawyer. But I am not aware that he has the slightest claim to be considered an authority in constitutional or parliamentary law. Mr. Adams is a lawyer; Mr. Quincy is a lawyer; they are all lawyers, and I say not a single one of them has covered this point in the case, has he? (Applause, and "Yes.") Did any one of them cover this point in the case? ("Yes.") Which of them?

Now, gentlemen, one word more. (A voice, "Tell the truth, Wendell.") I want to say one more word on the substance of the matter. (Cries of "Hear him," "Sit down," "Go on," "Sit down," "Free speech," and hisses.) The question whether President Grant was justified in his action, whether in using his constitutional power he used it wisely, honestly (cries of "Oh," and laughter); that depends on the state of affairs in Louisiana; that depends on what, when he got to Louisiana under that constitutional call, he found there. (A voice, "He had no business there.") Did he find there the insubordination and "domestic violence," which Governor Kellogg alleged to exist? What is the evidence?

Look at it. The first speaker on this stand was our distinguished fellow-citizen, General Quincy. What did he say? He said he left live fire-brands and riot in New Orleans. Sheridan was with him, and saw the same. Now Sheridan has gone back. Mr. Quincy resides in Boston, and though he left discord and bloodshed in Louisiana, he thinks since it has been made the most of for political effect, and that it has no countenance from the community. Sheridan, who has gone back, testifies to the contrary. Which will you believe? (Applause.) Is not the man who has gone down and examined a better witness than the man who,—staying here, a thou-

sand miles off,—tells you he left that state of things, but thinks it is not there now? (Great applause.) Will you give me quiet for a single moment? (Cries of "Casey!" "Packard!") Men of Boston, I am not here to praise the Administration. If these resolutions are passed they will carry consternation and terror into the house of every negro in Louisiana. (Applause, hisses and groans.) They will carry comfort to every assassin in New Orleans. (Hisses and applause.) My anxiety is not for Washington. I don't care who is President. My anxiety is for the hunted, tortured, murdered population, white and black, of the Southern States, whom you are going to consign to the hands of their oppressors. If you pass these resolutions (cries of "We will," "We will")—if you pass these resolutions (cries "We will," "We will")—if you pass these resolutions (cries "We will, "We will"),—I say it in the presence of God Almighty (cries of "Sh!" "sh!")—the blood of hundreds of blacks and hundreds of whites will be on your skirts before the first day of January next. (Loud laughter.)

Look at the evidence. President Grant's message affirms that "lawlessness, turbulence, and bloodshed" cover the whole history of reconstructed Louisiana. If he is a selfish politician, it would be more profitable for him to paint it all peace, and so gain the support of the now triumphant white race. If he loves fame, to claim that he has really pacified the South would be the cap sheaf of his glory. He has no temptation to exaggerate *on the side* of Louisiana disorder. General Sheridan, no partisan politician—a new observer—confirms the President's statement. One speaker here ran a parallel between Boston in 1770 and New Orleans now; quoting eloquent words of Samuel Adams. Well, Governor Warmouth, so called, killed his man in the streets of New Orleans the other day. I don't remember that Samuel Adams or John Hancock engaged in any such freaks here in 1770; which shows, I think, rather a different atmosphere prevailing in the two cities. Democratic Congressmen tell

us that in Alabama, where this same White League exists, no Republican member of Congress could safely show his face. If the archives of this Administration could be laid open, I believe the nation would be amazed to learn how often military power had been invoked in Southern States to save life and prevent outbreaks. I have myself had both letters and persons under my own roof enough to substantiate all the President's charges. The very haste with which these White Leaguers sprung to work in that Legislative Hall, before any member could rightfully put a motion, shows conspiracy; shows that they well knew they were in a minority; and that only by tricks and violence could they manage to get possession of the *form* of a legislature and overawe their opponents. Their illegal violence is confession that they *knew* they had no legal means and no right to control the House *if the law was strictly observed.* One-half of the State, everyone seems to forget — the black men. They have met in New Orleans and assert that Sheridan's charge, grave as it is, is only half the truth; that the murders are by thousands, not hundreds, and the terror universal. The fact that Congress, after two years' effort, has been unable to fathom the bottomless muddle of Louisiana politics, is proof of the "lawlessness and turbulence," which Grant charges. It shows clearly enough, without further evidence, that the State never can be pacified without help from outside.

One speaker here to-day, urged Congress to order a new election in Louisiana. With all due submission to the opinions of those Congressmen who advocate that course, I deny emphatically its constitutionality. If Louisiana is a State, as is claimed, then Congress has no right to enter its limits by any such legislation. The only way, I affirm it most emphatically, *the only way* out of this confusion, is for the Executive,—acting under the authority which Kellogg's call, in September, gives it, — to keep the peace of the State, no matter how long, until the orderly men of the State are able, under such protection, to establish good government

there. I do not believe that any other way of bringing Louisiana into order is known to our system of government. Gentlemen may criticise and hold up their hands in hypocritical horror; learned Germans may come over as Senatorial missionaries to instruct us in our own business; but I defy any man to show any other constitutional method. I know all such military interference is dangerous. But the fault rests on those whose crimes make it necessary. Of course it is dangerous. So are all storms. The use of governments and statesmen, as of pilots, is to steer the ship safely through storms.

I know why I came here. (A voice, "You came to make a row." Laughter, applause and hissing. The chairman called to order, and Mr. Phillips finally proceeded.) Gentlemen, you know very well that this nation called 4,000,000 of negroes into citizenship to save itself. (Applause.) It never called them for their own sakes. It called them to save itself. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") And to-day this resolution offered in Faneuil Hall would take from the President of such a nation the power to protect the millions you have just lifted into danger. (Cries of "Played out," "Sit down," &c.) You won't let him protect them. (Cries of "No.") What more contemptible object than a nation which, for its own selfish purpose, summons four millions of negroes to such a position of peril, and then leaves them defenceless? What more pitiable object than the President of such a nation, vested with full power to protect such citizens, if he yield to this contemptible clamor, and leave them defenceless?

I have done all I intended to do. I only wanted to record the protest of one citizen of Boston (uproarious applause) against that series of resolutions. Other men recorded it by their absence, by their refusal to sign the Call. (Renewed applause.) I chose to record mine in your presence in this very hall, and under this very roof, where I have so often labored to bring these colored men into the condition

which makes them the object of the White League's fear and hatred, and doubles their trouble and perils for the present. (Cries of "Yes, that's it," and laughter.) I should deem myself wanting in my duty as an old Abolitionist, (loud hissing and applause) if I did not do everything in my power (cries of "Question") to prevent a word going out from this hall that will make a negro or a white Republican more exposed to danger and more defenceless. (A great deal of noise and confusion here ensued, during which three cheers were given for Mr. Phillips.)

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